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TELEGRAM

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SUBJECT: [REDACTED]

1. COUNTRY: BRAZIL (BR)
2. REPORT NUMBER: [REDACTED]
3. TITLE: THE BA'S HARDLINERS AND THE POLITICAL REFORMS (U)
4. PROJECT NUMBER: NA
5. ATE OF INFORMATION: 780620-23
6. DATE OF REPORT: 780626
7. DATE AND PLACE OF ACQUISITION: 780624, BRASILIA
8. REFERENCES: [REDACTED]
9. ASSESSMENT: SOURCE B INFORMATION 2
10. ORIGINATOR: [REDACTED]
11. REQUEST EVALUATION: [REDACTED]
12. PREPARING OFFICER: [REDACTED]
13. APPROVING AUTHORITY: [REDACTED]
14. SOURCE: [REDACTED]
15. SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS: DIRC: NO.
16. SUMMARY: (U) AT LEAST THREE MEMBERS OF THE HIGH COMMAND HAVE BEEN DISCREETLY DEALING WITH FIGUEIREDO RE THE POLITICAL REFORMS. THEY ARE SAID TO REPRESENT THE LARGEST OF THE THREE FACTIONS DERIVING FROM THE ORIGINAL HARDLINERS OF 1964. THE THREE ARE VENERALS BANDEIRA, AND THE TWO SERPA BROTHERS.

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22. DETAILS

1. (U) [REDACTED] GENERALS ANTONIO BANDEIRA, MOSE MARIA DE ANDRADA SERPA, AND ANTONIO CARLOS DE ANDRADA SERPA WERE SAID TO BE GENERALLY PLEASED WITH THE POLITICAL REFORMS ANNOUNCED ON 23 JUN 78 BY GEISEL.

2. (U) IT WAS THIS GROUP OF GENERALS, ALL MEMBERS OF THE HIGH COMMAND WHO HAD URGED FIGUEIREDO TO ADOPT A CAREFULLY PHASED PROGRAM OF REFORMS.

3. (U) THEY WOULD ACCEPT THE ELIMINATION OF AI-5, RESTORATION OF HABEAS CORPUS, IN SHORT, THE EXCEPTIONAL ACTS GIVING THE PRESIDENT ABSOLUTE POWER, IN EXCHANGE FOR INSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS, SUCH AS THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, STATE OF SIEGE, ETC., MEASURES.

4. (U) THEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT, HOWEVER, THE ABOLITION OF THE SO-CALLED PACKAGE OF APRIL 77 AT THIS TIME. INSTEAD THEY AGREED THAT IF SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE TOWARDS THE END OF FIGUEIREDO'S TENURE, THEN THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION ON THEIR PART (THE "FAITHFUL TO GEISEL AND FIGUEIREDO HARDLINERS" IS WHAT THEIR ADHERENTS REFER TO THE THREE GENERALS AS) TO ALLOW ADDITIONAL REFORMS COVERING THE AREA OF ELECTIONS AND THE CONGRESS.

5. (U) [REDACTED] FIGUEIREDO HIMSELF WHO HAS BEEN DISCREETLY

DEALING WITH BANDEIRA, THE SPOKESMAN/GO-BETWEEN OF THE HIGH COMMAND'S POLITICAL-MINDED ACTIVISTS, AND NOT GEISEL. REPORTEDLY, GEISEL SENT ADVANCE COPIES OF THE REFORMS TO HIS UNIFORMED SERVICE MINISTERS, WITHOUT ASKING FOR THEIR COMMENTS.

6. (U) HOWEVER, THE TRIO HAD BEEN, AND STILL ARE, VOICING THEIR OPINIONS ON THE REFORMS, TO FIGUEIREDO, BECAUSE GEISEL HAS TOLD HIS HEIR THAT IT-THE REFORMS PACKAGE- WILL BE HIS (FIGUEIREDO'S) PROBLEM TO IMPLEMENT, NOT GEISEL'S. CONSEQUENTLY, THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT WISH TO BE BOTHERED BY THE GENERALS' CAVEATS WHICH HE REPORTEDLY REGARDS AS REASONABLE.

7. (U) [REDACTED] THE BA MINISTER AND THE CHIEF OF STAFF HAVE PUBLICLY CALLED FOR BA SUPPORT FOR FIGUEIREDO, AND FOR A GRADUAL DISENGAGEMENT FROM ACTIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DOMESTIC POLITICAL AFFAIRS. HOWEVER, THESE PROFFESDEDLY APOITICAL GENTLEMEN KNOW THAT THEIR THREE COLLEAGUES ON THE HIGH COMMAND HAVE TO BE ALLOWED TO SPEAK - ALBEIT DISCREETLY-WITH FIGUEIREDO, IF ONLY BECAUSE THEY ARE IN FACT THE BA'S SENIOR SPOKESMAN OF THE STILL-LOYAL TO GEISEL, HARDLINERS, AND ARE STILL A FORCE TO RECKON WITH POLITICALLY. COMMENT: (C) ONCE, CIRCA 1964, 65, THE HARDLINERS WERE SAID TO BE UNITED IN THEIR ANTI-COMMUNISM, OPPOSITON TO SUBVERSION, CORRUPTION AND WERE IN FAVOR OF MODERNIZING BRAZIL. NOW THERE EXISTS THE REPORTEDLY NUMERICALLY VERY SMALL AND WEAK FACTION THAT OPPOSES ANY POLITICAL OPENINGS. THESE APPEAR TO BE LEADERLESS. THEN THERE IS THE LARGER GROUP OF HARDLINERS WHO HAVE TURNED THEIR BACKS ON GEISEL AND HIS HEIR, AND HAVE SIDED WITH EULER AND THE "INSTANCE DEMOCRACY". POLITICAL ELEMENTS. THEIR SPOKESMAN TO EULER IS CEL (RET) AMERINO RAPOSO. FINALLY, THERE IS THE ALLEGEDLY LARGEST GROUP OF HARDLINERS-IN UNIFORM, THE ONE REPRESENTED BY THE THREE GENERALS, AND THE OTHERS WHO SUPPORT THE "GO SLOW" APPROACH WITH REGARD TO THE REFORMS. IT IS THIS ELEMENT WHICH APPARENTLY STILL "CARRIES CONSIDERABLE CLOUT VIS-A-VIS THE GEISEL FIGUREDO REGIME, AND EVIDENTLY, AT LEAST BASED ON WHAT IS KNOWN TO DATE, WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO FOR SOME TIME TO COME, EVEN IF LESS OBVIOUS, LESS VOCIFEROUS THAN IN THE PAST. INCIDENTALLY, THE MENTION OF TE THREE GENERALS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THERE ARE NO OTHER FOUR-STAR NOR LESSER-RANKING HARDLINER GENERALS IN UNIFORM AND CURT; ONLY THAT THESE

ARE THE MOST ACTIVE AND SEEM TO HAVE GAINED FIGUEIREDO'S EAR IN PROMOTING/PROTECTING THEIR INTERESTS. ONE LAST POINT- RO FINDS IT HARD TO BELIEVE THAT GEISEL HAS IN FACT "WASHED HIS HANDS" IN RE REFORMS. MOST LIKELY, HE'S LET HIS HEIR DO THE "LEG WORK", RESERVING FOR HIMSELF THE RIGHT TO APPROVE OR VETO THE BA HARDLINERS' SUGGESTIONS.

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